THE ANDHRA CASE
For MADRAS EXAMINED

BY

K S VENKATARAMAN

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WITH A FOREWORD BY

Sri K. BHASHYAM, B A., B L, M L.A.

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FOREWORD

This is a reprint, with some alterations of a small book written by Sri K S. Venkataraman two years back under his pen name "*Kowsika*" in refutation of the claim made by Andhras to the Madras City Not content with demolishing their case, he carries the war into the enemy's camp and proves conclusively the validity of the claim of the Tamils to the territory up to Pennai in Nellore. The question is examined in all aspects, from the historical, traditional, cultural and linguistic points of view. The author has given wealth of details supported by authorities, a contribution very valuable to the Tamil cause His complaint is that while the Andhras conscious of the weakness of their case have been aggressively claiming Madras, the Tamils have been complacent so far, hoping that the matter would be settled peacefully by the Congress High Command.

In recent times, the question has become a burning topic of the day and the publication of this work is timely. The author trenchantly deals with the arguments of the old stalwarts of the Andhra cause, such as Sri V Ramdas Pantulu, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Sri Vavilla Venkateswarlu and its recent champions like Sri T Viswanatham The absurdity of the claim of the Andhras to the Madras City on the ground that this site was granted by the Rajah of Chandragiri to the East India Company is exposed In fact, the grant was only of a few acres on the coast and even that grant had to be revalidated by a fresh charter obtained from the next conqueror, the Nawab of Arcot *

All this is beside the point, when we look at the principle on which the provinces have to be demarcated. It is the people of the locality, their culture and their language that are the determining factors *and not* the racial character of the Ruler, in which case our country must remain a British territory for all time The Congress resolution makes the point clear and it is only on the linguistic basis that the demarcation of the provinces should be made The dust and din created by the aggressive Andhras has clouded the issue. This book comes as a sunbeam piercing the clouds, and shows how fantastic and unreal is the claim of the Andhras to the Madras City. Indeed, they do not stop with it, but also claim some portions of Chingleput, north of Madras, so as to serve as a Danzig Corridor to the City.

The contribution is all the more valuable coming as it does from a gentleman who is not himself an active politician, but a retired recluse The time and leisure at his disposal, he has spent usefully to study the problems from all aspects and give us the benefit of the unbiassed result of his investigations.

The book must be in the hands of every Tamilian, interested in his Nadu *It must also be in the hands of Andhras for them to realise, if they will, the injustice of their demand.*

K. BHASHYAM,

Oct. 1949 Champak Vilas, Luz, Mylapore,

MADRAS.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

The case presented in this brochure against the Andhra claim to Madras has not been answered so far It is unanswerable. But the Andhras have not given up their demand for Madras, repeating their old untenable arguments. Passion and prejudice die hard and self-interest clouds judgment. But we who have reason and justice on our side have te be patient with them and convince them of the justice of our case The Congress High Command is convinced that Madras belongs by reason of history and the voice of the majority to Tamil Nadu The Congress President Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, once a vehement advocate of the Andhra demand for Madras and the author of the fantastic proposal to divide the City between the two provinces, has fallen in line with Nehru and Patel and no longer supports the extreme Andhra view In view of the passions which this issue has raised in Andhra Desa, we cannot expect him to recant publicly his earlier utterances on this question but his signing the J V P Report and his present advice to his people to accept the finding in the report and give up the claim to Madras proves that the Andhra case lacks strength and substance and cannot stand before an impartial tribunal There is a growing section in Andhra Desa which holds the same view but it does not express itself openly for fear of offending the vociferous section of the public which has been purposely worked up to a false position Instead of giving a bold lead to the people they are waiting for somebody to do that unpleasant job In the meantime Mr T Prakasam, Mr B Sambamurthi and Sri S V Ramamurthi are trying to whip up an agitation in Andhra Desa. In this struggle for public support, Mr N G Ranga is playing a waiting game,—Madras means so much to Andhra Desa and the loss of it would be such a handicap to the new province that no Andhra can view the question in the dry light of reason and abstract justice-and as President of the Andhra Provincial Congress

Committee he has to some extent to follow public opinion worked up in Andhra Desa and cannot detach himself from the thought and feeling of his people But his contacts with top-rank leaders of the Congress seem to have convinced him that by persisting in their unreasonable demand for Madras, the Andhras would only be postponing the formation of the Andhra Province Yet he cannot come out with an open declaration of his faith lest he should lose to Mr Prakasam in the struggle for power and leadership. Surprisingly enough, the Andhra Mahasabha, which is an independent body working for the cause of Andhra Province and which is not tied up to the support of Congress policies, has accepted the recommendation of the J. V P. Committee But the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee does not muster sufficient strength to reverse its previous decision and renounce its demand for Madras.

But we do see a perceptible change in the attitude of Andhras Though they still repeat their old cry that historically Madras belongs to them, they no longer ask for the whole of Madras Some of them ask that Madras should be divided between the two provinces with the Cooum as the boundary line, but even this demand they make without the old fervour and conviction, for, history, public vote and administrative convenience are all against the proposal. So they are attacking along a third line, and are demanding that Madras should be constituted into a separate Chief Commissioner's Province or be centrally administered. They hope to gain some support for this proposal from the non-Tamil elements in the population of Madras, the Gujeratis and Marvaris, and perhaps the Malayalees and the Karnatakas A few stray voices in the Tamil Country itself have been raised in support of this demand They are taken in by the plausible argument that Madras is a cosmopolitan city, peopled by different linguistic groups and that their interests will not receive just and equal attention in a province constituted on the principle of a single language It, therefore, becomes necessary to meet this new attack on the Tamils' right to Madras and also to restate our case.

We are soon to separate but we do not want to part from the Andhras, if we can help it, in anger and ill-will. We are still hoping that once they get their separate province they will forget their recent disagreements and differences with us. Towards that consummation this book is offered as an humble contribution

The Andhras ask for the inclusion of Madras in the new Andhra Province on three grounds —

(1) Historically Madras belongs to the Andhras It was given by an Andhra King to the East India Company and it was developed by the Andhras

(2) The Andhras still form a considerable element of the population of Madras [They no longer claim to be the majority linguistic group but they deny that the Tamils form an absolute majority over all the other linguistic groups] The Andhras again have a larger share of the trade, commerce and industry in Madras, and this must be taken into account in assigning Madras to the Tamil or Telugu province.

(3) They cannot do without Madras. The Ceded Districts do not want an Andhra Province without Madras

All these arguments are urged, though not so clearly, in a recent statement by Mr T Visvanatham, M L A, Andhra Leader and a prominent member of the Prakasam group In examining it, we shall have examined the present case stated in its extreme and violent form In his letter to the *Hindu* dated 13th October, Mr Visvanatham makes out the following points "According to the Tamils, the Telugu people who built up the City, who formed the original population, who even now contribute by more than half to its growth, who guarded the honour of the City in the Salt Satyagraha days, and who hold more trading and commercial interests than the Tamilians, should walk out in favour of persons who have congregated recently in larger numbers on account of the adventitious advantage of an earlier Railway running in their region."

It would be difficult to crowd so many misstatements into one sentence. Every statement in it is an assertion without proof and even contrary to proved facts.

(1) There is no proof that the Telugus built up the City. It has been pointed out times without number that modern Madras did not come into existence with the construction of Fort St. George by the East India Company in 1639, that it has a history that goes back to the early centuries of the Christian era, that Mylapore and Triplicane, which are among the most populous divisions of the City, were rich and populous towns in the times of the Nayanmars and Alwars. The town that grew up round Fort St. George was Black Town *i.e.*, modern George Town. There are no records to show the composition of the settlers there and there is no proof for Mr. Visvanathan's assertion that even this division of the City was built up by the Andhras. The Telugus did not build up the whole city nor even a major part of this division of the city. From the beginning, the Tamils played an important part in the development of this division, and the Beri Chettiars and Mudaliars contributed greatly to its trade and wealth. The names Thambu Chetty Street and Linga Chetty Street near the harbour still attest to the wealth and influence of the Tamil Beri Chetty Community.

(2) As already pointed out and proved several times, the original population of Madras was not exclusively Telugus, nor even largely Telugu. Mylapore and Triplicane in South Madras had a population which was almost wholly Tamil, and even in North Madras, which was in the Tamil country and surrounded by Tamil area the bulk of the population has been Tamil, with an influx of some Andhra settlers. There are no records to show the relative numerical strength of the two groups but *a priori* considerations like geographical contiguity and historical association tell against the statement that the population of Black Town was wholly or largely Telugu.

(3) It is not a fact that even now the Telugus contribute more than half, as Mr. Visvanatham asserts, to the growth

of the City If he means by growth, growth of population, his own complaint is that the influx of Tamils into Madras is greater than that of Telugus If he means growth in respect of education, trade and industry, the facts are all the other way In commercial and industrial enterprise, it is well known that the Telugus have been outstripped by Marwaris, Guzaratis, Sindhis and Tamils and the Telugus' recent contributions to the growth of the City is negligible

(4) His statement that in the Salt Satyagraha days it was the Telugus who guarded the honour of Madras is irrelevant to the present issue, is untrue and an insult to Tamil Nadu The contributions of Tamil Nadu to India's fight for freedom and to Satyagraha is so well known that we do not propose to deal seriously with Mr Visvanatham's boastful references to the Andhras' part in it and his insulting insinuations against the Tamils

(5) Mr Visvanatham says that the Andhras hold more trading and commercial interests in Madras than the Tamilians That again is in utter variance with facts This is not the first time that such a claim has been made and I have examined it at some length later in this booklet and exposed its hollowness We will just cite a few facts The volume of trade turned over by a community can be fairly judged by the clientele of banks and the volume of their dealings with them Of the South Indian banks operating in Madras, only one, the Andhra Bank is managed by the Andhras, while there are at least five or six managed by Tamils In regard to banking and insurance it is well known that Andhra Desa is particularly backward The accounts of exchange banks also will show that the share of Telugus in export and import trade is negligible Many lines of trade are almost exclusively in the hands of Marwaris, Guzaratis, Sindhis and Tamil Nadu Moslems In regard to some others, the Tamils have a decidedly larger share than Telugus All Indian industrial enterprises of any size in Madras are either exclusively or largely in Tamil hands Even in regard to retail distribution, which at one time used to be in the hands of Arya Vaisyas

or Komatis it is passing into the hands of very enterprising Tamil communities like Nadars and Chettis In fact, the Andhras in Madras are losing ground in all branches of trade except in the jewellery line and the volume of external or internal trade in their hands is only a small fraction of the total volume and definitely less than that of Tamils Mr Visvanatham would like to imagine that the Andhras hold in Madras a position similar to that of Guzaratis in Bombay and that the Tamil numerical majority is only like that of Maharashtras there. This is wishful imagining and has no warrant in fact. In trade, commerce and industry, as in all the professions, the contribution of the Tamils to the civic life of Madras has always been greater than that of Telugus

(6) Mr Visvanatham refers o certain statements made by a Committee appointed by the Government to enquire into the adequacy of provision for the education of the Telugus in their mother tongue in the City, to the effect (1) that Tamils do not form an absolute maority in the City. (2) that in the northern half of the City the Telugu people entirely preponderate

These are ex-parte statements by an interested body of Telugus and not being based on official statistics or on the results of an open enquiry are entitled to no weight. The only official statistics available are the census figures of 1931, according to which out of a total population of 647,210, the Tamils numbered 411,823 and all the others combined 235,387 The Telugus numbered only 124,629. No separate figures for the various linguistic groups in Madras are available for the census of 1941 and the reason for this blackout is not difficult to guess At any rate, the Tamils had neither need nor desire to blackout the information, for according to Mr Visvanatham himself the flow of Tamils into the City in recent years has been greater than that of Telugus With the inclusion in the City, of preponderantly Tamil areas like Saidapet and Perambur the margin of Tamil majority now is greater than ever before

As for the committee's second statement that the Telugus entirely preponderate the northern half of the city, it has no more basis in fact than its first statement. Everyone who has any acquaintance with the very populous divisions of Washermanpet, Tondiyarpet and Royapuram will see how wide of the truth is this statement. Even in George Town there is no divsion in which the Telugus preponderate and in many divisions they are an insignificant minority.

7 Mr. Visvanatham next pleads for the Kanarese people, the Keralas and the Guzarathis, who have settled in Madras He has no authority to speak for them The fact that the Councillors of the Madras Corporation with only two Andhra dissentients recently passed a resolution declaring that Madras rightly belongs to the Tamil Province and should be included in it shows the trend of public opinion in all sections of the people including the Telugus settled for long in Madras .

8 Mr Viswanatham seeks to frighten the Andhras by conjuring up a tragic picture of about a million Andhras having to migrate from Madras and border taluqs to the new Andhra province and the tremendous problem of rehabilitating them there This bogey has been effectively laid by representative Telugus resident in this area They have no fear of being discriminated against by the Tamils and are quite at home in the Tamil Country which they have no idea of leaving

9 Mr Visvantham finally pleads that the only fair solution to the Andhra-Tamil differences over Madras is to make it a separate Cheif Commissioner's province or place it under Central administration Many may be taken in by the seeming moderation of this proposal and lend their support to it, but it is fraught with serious consequences to the Tamils There is no justification for depriving the Tamils of this Tamil city, the Centre of their culture and trade and industry The fate of Madras must be left to the people of Madras and of Tamil districts to decide and not

be determined according to the wishes of the disappointed Andhras Secondly, the location of the two Capitals in the same city will lead to serious administrative inconsequences and be an endless source of misunderstanding and illwill. If the two peoples could have got on together, the formation of the new province would have come about in a happier atmosphere The present rift between Tamils and Telugus will not be closed merely by the constitution of Madras into a separate province The arguments that the City is cosmopolitan and has been built up by the joint enterprise of several elements does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that it should be cut off from the Tamil country to which it belongs By the same argument Calcutta should be taken out of Bengal and constituted into a separate province Every big city is to a greater or less extent cosmopolitan but Madras is less cosmopolitan in this sense than Bombay or Calcutta It has a definitely Tamil character Tamil in origin, Tamil in its culture, Tamil in the composition of its people, it cannot be cut off from the whole to which it organically belongs

Copy of the letter dated 27-2-1948 from Prof. K A. Nilakanta Sastri, University Prefessor of History 'Nilesvar', Edward Elliots Road, Mylapore, Madras 4, to Sri K S. Venkataraman

Let me thank you for your kindness in sending me a complimentary copy of your pamphlet on "The Boundaries of the Andhra Province" which reached me yesterday I have read the booklet with great care and I am glad to be able to say that I have found in it a sober, convincing and complete statement of the entire problem I wonder if you know that, though I hail from Tinnevelly, I am an Andhra by birth and that my mother-tongue is Telugu My testimony to the scrupulous fairness and moderation with which you state your case is therefore not that of a biassed Tamilian. Your references to history and literature are all, so far as I know, quite correct and relevant. I did not quite believe that Madras was wanted by the Andhras to bag the Rayalaseema, but what was my surprise when talking to an Andhra friend - full Andhra, not half-baked like me - on the marina in the evening I found from him that that and no other was the reason for their wanting Madras He importunately suggested that some way must be found of making Madras the Capital of both the provinces. So you have got the problem quite fully and correctly in your mind

Thanks again and best regards,

Yours sincerely,

(True Copy)

THE ANDHRA CASE FOR MADRAS EXAMINED

INTRODUCTORY

The formation of a separate Andhra Province is now within sight If the Andhras are wise they can have it mentioned in the schedule of States in the new Constitution. The principle of redistributing Provinces on a linguistic basis is generally accepted though a few doubt the expediency of pressing for it immediately The leaders of the Congress have even given the first priority to the demand for a separate Andhra Province The Congress Working Committee has laid down the terms on which the Andhras can have their Province The Constituent Assembly is ready to incorporate a provision for it in the new Constitution The Tamils are as eager now as the Telugus and wish that the two should separate as early as possible If the Andhras do not realise their aspirations now it cannot be attributed to Tamil unwillingness or intrigues. The fateful hour for which they have long been waiting is come, but the Andhras themselves are vacillant and it looks as if they will not summon up the necessary decision to take the chance now offered to them They want to have a province on their own terms ignoring the rights and just claims of others How can the Tamils concede the unjust demand of the Andhras to Madras and how can the Congress High Command approve unreasonable claims? The Andhras are sullen and resentful and are in no mood to listen to the wiser counsels of their own moderate leaders In their present mood of discontent and grievance against all and sundry a few Andhra leaders are trying to whip up passion and prejudice in Andhra Desa and start a campaign not only against the Tamils but also against the Congress which has negatived their demand Now, passion begets passion and

challenge is met with counter challenge With justice on their side, with the disinterested Congress on their side, the Tamils will not bend to Andhra anger Such an agitation, if it materialises will throw Andhra Desa into turmoil, weaken the Congress, strengthen disruptive forces there, alienate good will in adjoining provinces. But it cannot win against justice The Tamils have no need to get excited but they should be restating their case firmly, so that the outside world may not be carried away by the clamour of the Andhras. It is hoped that when the heat and passion of the present controversy cool and the Andhras view the whole question in a calm and objective way, they will see how the Tamils have been fair and conciliatory from the beginning The Andhras base their claim to Madras on fanciful and flimsy historical grounds The Tamils have a stronger case in history for the inclusion of Chittoor District upto Tirupati within the Tamil Province But they are willing to abide by one clear test, one unequivocal standard—history or the voice of the present population But the Andhras do not take their stand on one ground. They claim Tirupati on the ground of population and Madras on the supposed ground of History They are not prepared to have their claims examined by official statistics or by impartial history. Although vanquished in argument they have the knack of arguing still So we have to go on repeating our case lest the unwary should think we have no good case

We concede that when two peoples who have been living together divide, there are bound to be differences over division of assets and in settling the boundaries There will be an area large or small which will be bilingual but there is a known method of settling all such disputes, by a plebiscite or by means of a boundary commission It may be asked why the Jawahar-Vallabbhai-Pattabhi Committee did not recommend this process but asked the Andhras to give up their claim to Madras The reason is not far to seek. The Comittee is composed of an Andhra protagonist of the Andhra Province and two statesmen of the highest integrity who are not swayed by parochial feelings And the

three have no special leaning towards the Tamils and no reason to impose an unjust decree upon the Andhras The reason for their recommendation is that on the basis of admitted facts, the result of a plebiscite or the award of a Boundary Commission can only be one-the rejection of the Andhra claim for Madras No impartial student of facts can have any doubt about the result of any such enquiry, and if the Andhras want it they can have it But this will only mean unnecessary delay, needless agitation and further bitterness

But the Andhras will not be convinced and if they now accept the recommendation of the J V P Committee at all it will be sullenly and with a sense of grievance It is to remove this feeling and to promote good will between the two communities that this brochure is written

The most plausible presentation of the Andhra demands is to be found in a brochure prepared by the late Mr V. Ramadas Pantulu and published by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committees In page twenty-two of this brochure Mr Ramadas Pantulu prefaces his discussion of the question of boundaries with these wise words "we are resting our respective cases on a very tangible factor, *viz* , the proportion of the population speaking a particular language The Andhras never claimed and would never claim any areas which are not inhabited by a majoirty of people speaking Telugu as their mother tongue and which are not contiguous to the Telugu Districts" Mr Ramadas Pantulu here enunciates two principles which should govern the adjudication of all boundary disputes, the language spoken by the majority of people in the area, and the country to which it is contiguous. And these principles he rigorously applies to the Tamil claims (based on historical grounds) for the southern portion of Chittoor District up to the Tirupati Hills and summarily dismisses them as untenable He is prepared to apply them to the bilingual districts of Bellary and Ganjam. But when he comes to Madras and the northern portion of Chingleput, he throws these principles overboard and against all dictates of reason and fair-play seeks to annex them to the Andhra Province. Madras has a

majority of Tamil-speaking people and is surrounded by a preponderantly Tamil area The very principles which Mr. Ramdas enunciates rule out the Andhra claim for these two areas and so he shifts his ground and bases his claim to these areas on supposed historical associations We will examine these historical grounds later

THE ANDHRA CLAIM TO MADRAS.

Though the Andhra agitation for a separate province is more than a quarter of a century old the demand for Madras is of recent origin. It was at the Twentieth Session of the Andhra Maha Sabha held in Madras in October 1938 that the Andhras first put forth the claim for the location of the capital of the future Andhra Province in Madras For many years the headquarters of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee used to be at Bezwada, and this was no accident People came to regard Bezwada as the natural capital of the future Andhra Province Even in the Sri Bagh Pact, a pact approved by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee there was no thought of making Madras their capital For one of the clauses of the pact is "while the University may continue to be where it is, the High Court and the Metropolis be located in suitable places in the Coastal Districts and the Rayalaseema, the choice being given to the Rayalaseema" What has happened since then to excite the Andhra appetite for Madras? It was the growing opposition of people in the Ceded Districts to any scheme of partition which would cut them off from the cultural capital of South India, Madras, and the fear of mutual jealousies between Rayalaseema and the Coastal Districts, the fear that under the terms of the Sri Bagh Pact, Rayalaseema might ask for the location of the capital in one of its own towns, it was this that made the astute Andhra leaders ask for Madras. Madras was to be the bait with which Rayalaseema was to be tempted, the price of peace and reconciliation between Rayalaseema and the Coastal Districts. True, Madras belongs to Tamil Nadu. But the Tamils must make the sacrifice to compose the domestic difference amomg Andhras

The Grounds of The Andhra Claim

On what do the Andhras base their claim? Not on the number of Telugu speaking people in the city, the principle which they themselves propose to apply in the case of Nellore, Chittoor and Bellary For according to the census of 1931, the only one for which official figures are available, out of a total population of 647, 330 in the city of Madras, only 124, 649 or about a fifth speak Telugu, while 411,823 or nearly two-thirds speak Tamil. The proportion of Tamils to Andhras is thus more than 3 to 1 Unable to get over this, Mr Ramadas Pantulu casts doubts on the correctness of the census figures, but if once the census figures are doubted, there is no basis for discussion at all and we have to wait till a referendum gives the correct figures But the impatient Andhras will not wait till then and argue their case from guess and conjecture If the Andhras contend that the figure of Andhras in the 1931 census is-an underestimate, it will be equally open to others to argue that it is an overestimate.

Next Mr Ramadas Pantulu contends that "if correct census is now taken of the city of Madras, though the Tamil population may constitute the single largest group speaking one language, it will not constitute the majority of the population of Madras" That is, the Telugus, the Malayalees, Gujeratis, Marwaris, foreigners etc, taken together will outnumber the Tamils We do not know on what he bases his hopes According to the 1931 census the population of Madras, classified according to language, was as follows —

Tamil speaking	411,823
Telugu ,,	124,629
Malayalam ,,	9,229
Oriya ,,	317
Kanarese ,,	4,539
Hindustani,,	62,651
Other languages	34,022
Total	647,210

But of this total, nearly two-thirds, 411,823 are Tamils and all other linguistic groups put together form but a third If we allow for normal growth of population and if there is only a normal movement of people, there can never be a time in the next few decades when the Tamilian proportion of two-thirds will become less then half But Mr Ramadas may have secret sources of knowledge and his own private reasons for hoping for a Tamil minority in the next census Grant purely for the sake of argument that the Tamils will not have a majority over all the other communities combined, will it mean an Andhra majority?

The Tamils will still outnumber the Andhras For contesting the claim of the Tamils to Madras, Mr. Ramadas would add the Malayalees, Gujeratis, Marwaris and even Englishmen to the Andhras Are the Andhras the natural heirs to the rights of these communities in Madras? The Andhras have no nearer kinship nor closer associations with them then the Tamils These communitees have not voted for handing over Madras to the Andhras or even for partitioning the City and giving a half of it to the Andhras

The Claim to North Madras

Mr Ramadas Pantulu says that "the northren portion of the City of Madras *i e*, the portion to the north of the river Cooum, comprising George Town, contains a very large Andhra population Andhras in that part of the city possess large trading and commercial interests and I am sure that if a plebiscite is taken in this part of the city the verdict will be in favour of the capital of the Andhra province being located in the city of Madras"

Let us analyse this confused mixture of pleas and arguments There are three points here (1) that north Madras, comprisisg George Town, contains a very large Andhra population, (2) the Andhras have very large trading interests there, (3) a plebiscite in this part of the city will secure a vote for the location of the capital of the Andhra province in Madras.

As regards (1), North Madras comprises not merely George Town, but also Royapuram, Washermenpet, Tondiarpet etc, though Mr Ramadas for obvious reasons leaves them out of the picture Is it proposed to add only George Town to the Andhra Province or the whole of North Madras? In the latter case, the population not merely of George Town but also of these other divisions must be taken into account Even in George Town, Mr Ramadas could only say there is a very large Andhra population but he does not venture to say that the Andhra community is larger then the Tamil (2) In regard to the trading and commercial interests of the Andhra residents of George Town, these interests do not outweigh the interests of other communities Our impression is that the bulk of the Indians' share of trade and commerce in George Town is in the hands of the Tamils, Tamil speaking Mohamedans, Marwaris Granting that the Andhras have large trading interests there, these interests will be as safe in the future Tamil Province as under the present Government At any rate, the Andhra merchants of George Town are, let us hope, too sensible to put forth the absurd claim that their interests can be safe only if they are transferred to the Andhra Province (3) As for the plebiscite that Mr. Ramadas suggests, he very cleverly limits it "to this part of the city" meaning thereby George Town Perhaps it would suit him better if it were limited to certain streets largely inhabited by Telugu speaking Vaisyas We are not sure that even this part of George Town will vote for a transfer to the Andhra province But the fate of a city cannot be decided by such a narrow plebiscite For, what is the issue on which plebiscite is to be taken? Surely it is not simply the location of the Andhra capital in Madras which will be in the Tamil Province, but the cession of North Madras to the Andhra Province carrying with it all that part of the Tamil Nadu that lies between Madras and the southern border of Andhra Desa When the question is thus put, the procedure, envisaged by Mr. Ramadas will be seen to be patently unfair In the first place a city is a unity, an organic whole which cannot be sundered at the bidding of sectional interests Secondly,

North Madras is not contiguous to the Telugu Districts and there is a broad belt of land inhabited mostly by Tmils separating Madras from the nearest Telugu District and this tract cannot be summarily handed over to the Andhras because they have some trading interests in Madras Lastly the absurdity of taking a sectional plebiscite to settle the future of a cosmopolitan city will be patent if the principle is pressed to its logical conclusion. On the same principle the Gujeratis may ask that their peta (the part of the city where they preponderate) should be cut off from the rest of the city and takced on to distant Gujerat

The Historical Basis of the Claim

A moderate statement of the Andhra case for Madras

Mr Ramadas sums up his case for Madras thus "Many communities were responsible for the founding and development of the city of Madras in relation to its trade, commerce, social and political pre-eminence The contribution of the Andhras in this endeavour has not been neglible". It is not our case that the Andhras have not contributed to the founding and development of Madras They had their share, perhaps, a not inconsiderable share. But had the Tamils no share in this? It is not as if the Andhras built up a rich and flourishing city in a desert by their sole enterprise The city is situated in Tamil Nadu, is peopled largely by Tamils, it incorporates the ancient Tamil towns of Mylapore and Triplicane and the rich and flourishing Portuguese settlement at San Thome In the light of these facts,could it be said that for the prosperity of Madras the Tamils contributed less than the Andhras who migrated to it?

The Andhras cannot ask that the city should be handed over to them simply because their contribution to its building up has not been neglible Nor can it be parcelled out among the communities that contributed to it in proportion to their respective shares It must remain one and united and remain a part of Tamil Nadu to which it justly belongs.

Sir S Radhakrishnan in his presidential address to the Twentieth Session of the Andhra Maha Sabha puts forth the same plea as Mr Ramadas He says, "the city has had for a long time important Andhra affiliations In its origin and development, the Andhras have played a great part. It seems to be the most natural centre for the Andhra Province" Sir S Radhakrishnan is rather shaky in his history, but we have a right to expect sounder logic and greater fairness from a philosopher of his eminence To justify the Andhra claim to Madras it is not enough to prove that the city has had important Andhra affiliations but that it has had closer and longer affiliations with Andhras than with Tamils, which he has made no attempt to prove. The real reason behind the sudden Andhra demand for Madras is neither the claims of history, nor of population but the need to allay the apprehensions of the Ceded Districts. Says Sir Radhakrishnan, "All these difficulties (the difficulties raised by the Ceded Districts) could be obviated if Madras is made the capitial of the future Andhra Province Madras occupies a fairly central position and serves as a link between the Ceded districts and coastal districts" So to win over the reluctant Rayalaseema the Andhras have to snatch Madras from the Tamils and the so-called historical grounds are merely a cloak of respectability to cover an annexation

The extreme statement of the Andhra case

Mr. Vavilla Venkateswarlu, the Tamil speaking champion of the Andhra cause, states the Andhra claim in a more extreme form Referring to the circumstances of the founding of the English settlement at Madras and to the services of the East India Company, he says in grandiloquent terms "If any set of people has a claim to call Madras their city, it is the Telugus It is a Telugu city" (Welcome Address to the Twentieth Session of the Andhra Maha Sabha) Before we examine in detail Mr Venkateswarlu's history of Madras, we should like to explain the limitations of any appeal to history for the settlement of such boundary disputes If existing provinces are to be cut

up and remade according to historical associations, what period of history are we to consider, ancient, medieval or modern? For the areas and boundaries of kingdoms have changed from time to time, the kingdoms expanded and contracted, and dynasties rose, flourished and fell Moreover, the kingdoms were often named after the ruling dynasties and not after the countries over which they ruled Thus there were neither Telugu kingdoms nor Tamil kingdoms nor Kanarese kingdoms, but the Cholas, Pallavas, Chalukyas Rashtrakutas, Hoysalas etc. Even the Vijayanagar kingdom was named after the capital city and was not called a Kanarese empire or Telugu empire Except the Pandyan and Chera kindoms which were exclusively Tamil, no other kingdom comprised territory inhabited by a homogeneous population speaking one language For example the Chola and Pallava kingdoms, though predominantly Tamil, extended for centuries over a large part of what is now called Telugu contry The greater part of the Vijayanagar empire was Tamil country If on the ground that for less than three centuries a dynasty of Andhra kings exercised either direct sway or suzerainty over the Tamil country of Tondaimandalam in which Madras is situated, the Andhras can claim Madras, the Tamils with greater reason can claim the southern portion of Nellore District up to the river Pennai and the southern portion of Chittoor District up to the Tirupathi Hills, as, for nearly a thousand years this part of the country was ruled by the Tamil Pallava and Chola Dynasties Because the Nayak kings ruled for a century in the Madura, Tanjore and South Arcot districts, the Andhras could well ask for them and by the same logic since Vengi was a province of the Chola Empire in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries the Tamils can ask for the Krishna and Godavari Districts Now this is history run amock. The only rational and equitable principle on which new boundries can be drawn so as to produce peace and contentment is the linguistic and cultural affinities of the people inhabiting the area History has its legitimate use in finding out not what king ruled over a territory but what language and culture predominated there To dig up worm-eaten arguments out of ancient history would lead to end-

less confusions and the clash of claims and counterclaims' it would lead to the Tamils' claiming the whole of the Madras Presidency and even beyond, to the Maharattas' claiming Tanjore, the Kanarese claiming all the area that once formed part of the Hoyasala Empire If the Andhras want history, they shall have it with a vengeance, but wisdom does not lie that way

Having all these difficulties in mind, the Congress has only approved the redistribution of provinces on a *linguistic* basis There is no Congress sanction for a redistribution on a historic basis So the present agitation of the Andhras for Madras and a part of Chingleput is not only unauthorised by the Congress but against the principles laid down by it It is time that the attention of the Congress authorities is drawn to the activities of the Congress leaders in Andhra Desa which run counter to the policy of the Congress in this regard and are calculated to promote discord between Andhras and Tamils

Moreover, the resolution of the Madras Legislature which had the support of the Ministry and of all parties only recommends formation of separate provinces for the four main language areas It only means that the area which is predominantly Telugu should be formed into a Telugu province and it cannot be taken to express approval of a proposal to add a predominantly Tamil area to the Telugu province

The History of Madras

Now what is this history which is supposed to make Madras a Telugu city? Says Mr Venkateswarlu, "The Telugus were closely associated with the founding of Madras by the English It was a Telugu chief who made the original grant and it was a Telugu king who ratified it" This Telugu chief was Damerla Iyyappa, the Nayak of Poonamalli, brother of Damerla Venkatadri, the Nayak ruler of Wandiwash, and the Telugu king was Sri Ranga Raya of Aravidu dynasty who ruled over the crumbling remains of the Vijayanagar Kingdom from Chandragiri.

This Damerla Venkatadri was one of the local chieftains called Nayaks, who had come into existence during the latter period of the Vijayanagar Empire and ruled over small principalities subject to the nominal suzerainty of the Emperor Now this Wandiwash Nayak, though he was an Andhra like the Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee, ruled over an admittedly Tamil country, the Coast Country from the Pulicat to Palar The site granted by him to the East India Company was in the midst of Tamil villages bearing Tamil names and adjoining the ancient Tamil village of Triplicane and the ancient Tamil Town of Mylapore The strip of land granted to Francis Day by the Nayak of Poonamallee was a small area extending along the seashore from the mouth of the Cooum to an undefined point beyond the present harbour somewhere in the neighbourhood of Cossimodu and inland as far as Cochrane's Canal (Glyn Barlow 'The Story of Madras') This area covers but a small fraction of the present City of Madras, and much the greater part of it was acquired from time to time by the East Indian Company from the various Muhammadan Kings that succesively claimed sway over this part of the Coromandal Coast

The village of Triplicane was granted to the Company by the representatives of the Muhammadan King of Golconda who captured the last remnants of the Vijiyanagar Kingdom. Later the Emperor Aurangzeb made a grant of Tandira (Tondiarpet), Persevacca (Purasavalkam) and Yegmore (Egmore) to Governor Elihu Yale Still later in the reign of Aurangzeb's son and successor the village of Lungambacco (Nungambakkam) was granted to the Company together with four adjoining villages for a total annual rental of 1500 pagodas It is very significant that Mr Venkateswarlu should suggest that the name Nungambakkam is probably derived from a later Andhra merchant Lingappa, though the name Lungambacu occurs in the original grant The villages of Vepery and Perambur were acquired by the company from the Nawab of Arcot in 1742 and Mylapore in 1749 So out of the 27 Sq miles which till recently made up Madras only a few hundred

acres were granted by a Telugu prince and on this Mr Venkateswarlu bases his stupendous claim that Madras is a Telugu city Even this claim, flimsy as it is, is cancelled by the later history of Madras For the Raja of Chandragiri was dethroned by the Sultan of Golconda in 1646, only a year after the grant of the land was ratified by him, and the East India Company, nervous about its title, secured a fresh title to their possessions from the Sultan. The latter was dethroned by the Emperor Aurangazeb who appointed a Nawab of the Carnatic in 1687 The East India Company, again secured a fresh title from a representative of the Emperor So the last persons from whom the Company got the site of modern Madras were the Muhammadan rulers of the Carnatic and thus the Andhra boast that it was from an Andhra king that the British got Madras is proved to be baseless

The origin and meaning of the name "Madras" are still in dispute among historians and one plausible theory is that it came from the Portuguese "Madre de deus" Mother of God, from a Christian Church of that name in the Portuguese settlement at San Thome The fishing village at the mouth of river Cooum used to be called Madraspatam and this name the English gave to the town which grew up round their settlement and in course of time this name which originally denoted our modern George Town was extended to the larger city which was formed by the amalgamation of all the adjacent towns and villages So the history of the present city of Madras is far older than the name Madras, far older than the Black Town to whose founding and developement the Andhras claim to have contributed so much The Tamil town of Mylapore was famous from ancient times. It was the birth place of Tiruvalluvar, who cannot be placed later than the 2nd century A D The temple of Kapaliswara was visited by the Tamil saints Sambandar and Appar whom historians place in the 6th century A D The Vishnu temple at Triplicane is equally celebrated in the Vaishnava sacred literature and has been sung about by several of the Alwars Then again there was

the rich and populous Portuguese settlement at San Thome Here is a description of the Portuguese town of San Thome from the pen of an anonymous Portuguese writer quoted by the historian Heras "San Thome is a very rich and noble city inhabited by the Portuguese— Thus the city was formed which besides the wealth and food that the land produced is nicely fitted for trading and sending its goods to any part of the world" (Fr Heras, the History of the Aravidu Dynasty, p 68) Again, "San Thome traded specially with the Kingdoms of Pegu and Bengal. The trade of San Thome was also famous throughout Portugal for the beautiful cloth of different kinds coming from the Coromandal Coast". We may incidentally mention that Coromandal is only a corruption of Solamandalam It is a mistake therefore to suppose that the whole of the present city of Madras stands on the site granted to the English by the Telugu Chief and built up and developed with Telugu wealth and enterprise

On the small site granted to them by the Poonamalli Nayak the East India Company built a fort and adjoining this fort on the northern side there grew up a settlement of Indian traders, brokers, artisans, etc, called by the English "Black Town" The original Black Town extended only from the northren wall of the fort to what is now Esplanade Row It is this part of the town to the building up of which the Telugus may claim to have contributed a great share This town was destroyed by the French during their occupation of the fort in 1746 and then the new Black Town, now George Town, rose up in its present site

An Andhra gentleman with more zeal than discretion once pointed to the Telugu names of certain streets and pettas like Govindappa Naick Street and Peddu Naick Pet as proof of Andhra dominance in George Town For every one street that bears a Telugu name we can point out at least three streets that bear Tamil names As every one knows, street names have curious histories and the character and composition of the people living in a street

cannot be read out from its name If that were so Washermenpet should be peopled wholly by washermen

History of Tamil Nadu

So on the score of historical origin or historical associations the Andhras can only claim part of George Town as Andhra in origin Grant that it was a Telugu prince, vassal of a Telugu king that granted the site on which George Town stands. What title does it confer on the present Andhras for a city that was always a part of Tamilnad and is peopled by a majority of Tamils From time immemorial this part of South India was considered a part of Tamil Nadu Vincent Smith, a historian who cannot be accused of partiality for Tamils, writing long before the Andhra agitation says in his 'Early History of India,' "the region covered by the Modern Madras Presidency excluding Northern Circars, Districts of Vizagapatam and Godavari and including the native states of Mysore, Cochin and Travancore is essentially the land of the Tamil race and speech, and accordingly the greater portion of it was known in ancient times as Tamilakam or the Tamil country The earliest tradition fixed the northern boundary of Tamilakam on the east coast at Pulicat, a little above Madras, and on the west coast at the White Rock near Badagara, the frontier line between these two points passing round the hill of Venkata or Tirupathi. Later traditions extended the north-eastern boundary as far as Nellore on the north Pennar river"—p. 456.

In the time of Ptolemy only one language, the Tamil, was spoken over the whole area, Malayalam not having been developed as a separate language until some centuries later (Ibid p 457) "According to tradition, the Chola country (Chola Mandalam) was bounded on the north by the Pennar and on the south by the southern Vellaru river, in other words, it extended along the east coast from Nellore to Pudukottai (p 480) These traditional boundaries did not always coincide with the political histories of the Chola kingdom, which varied from time to time but they show

without doubt what was generally considered to be Tamilakam, the land predominantly peopled by the Tamils Here is a very significant statement by Smith "the limits of the Chola Country as determined by tradition, mark ethnic rather than political frontiers on the north and west, where they do not differ widely from the lines of demarcation between the Tamil and the other Dravidian languages, Telugu, Canarese, Malayalam and Tulu" (p 480) It means that these traditional boundaries define the country peopled by the Tamil-speaking people From prehistoric times down to the conquest of Tondaimandalam in 1377 by Kumara Kempana, son of Bukka, the founder of Vijayanagar, this part of the country was under Tamil kings, the Cholas, the Pallavas, then again the Cholas, and for a short period the Pandiyas The kingdom of the Cholas was familiar by name to Katyayana and recognised by Asoka as independent The north Pennar was probably the northern Chola frontier in the Maurya age (*vide* Map of Asoka's Empire in 250 B C p 170 of Vincent Smith). Under Karikala who seems to have lived in the second half of the first century A D , the kingdom of the early Cholas reached the zenith of its power and tradition says that he erected his tiger emblem on the Himalayas In the second or third century after Christ the power of the Chola kings declined and was superseded by the rise of the Pallavas The earlier known documents of the dynasty, certain copper plate grants found in the Guntur district, show thet the dominions of the early Pallava kings extended to the Krishna river When Hiuen Tsang visited South India in 640, Narasimhavarman ruled over the mighty Pallava kingdom with his capital at Kanchi and the kingdom of Chola was a restricted territory estimated to be 400 or 500 miles in circuit, which Mr Smith identifies with a portion of the Ceded Districts and more especially with the Cuddapah District (p 483). It is significant that Hiuen Tsang calls the country of which Kanchi was the capital by the name of Dravida It corresponded therefore very closely with the traditional Chola country between the northern Pennar and the southern Vellaru rivers This Narasimhavarman, whom we have just now mentioned, defeated the Chalukya

monarch Pulikesin II in 642 capturing his capital Vatapi and extended his jurisdiction far into Mysore and Deccan. The decline of the Pallavas in the latter half of the 8th century gave the Cholas an opportunity of recovering their power and glory From the middle of the 9th Century to the close of the 13th Century, for more than four centuries, the Cholas were the greatest power in South India The Chola empire whose foundations were laid by Vijayalaya, Aditya and Parantaka was consolidated and extended by Rajaraja the Great, who became beyond dispute the Lord Paramount of Southern India, ruling a realm which included the whole of the Madras Presidency, Ceylon and a large part of Mysore" His son, Rajendra I, surnamed Gangaikondan, extended his conquests further, and annexed the whole kingdom of Pegu to the Chola Empire, and carried his victorious arms to the banks of the Ganges. The glory of the dynasty remained undimmed under Kuloththunga I who ruled his extensive dominions for forty nine years (1070-1110) He reconquered Kalinga, a feat celebrated in the Tamil poem Kalingathuparani His successors to the time of Kulothunga III succeeded in maintaining the predominant position of his dynasty. The inscriptions of Kulothunga III are found as far north as Nellore at the beginning of the 13th Century The chieftain of Nellore then known as Vikramasimhapura was a feudatory of the Cholas, and Nellore is described in the contemporary records as belonging to the Pedai Nadu subdivision of Sidikula Manikkavala Nadu of the province Jayamkonda Sola Mandalam (Tondaimandalam) The family of Yadavarayas at Kalahasti and the Sambavarayas of Kanchipuram and Virinchipuram (in the North Arcot) were also feudatories of the Chola King Kuloththunga III handed down his kingdom practically intact to his successor Rajaraja III (1216) and his records are found as far north as Cuddapah (S.K Iyengar's South *India and her Mohamedan Invaders*) He warred against the Telugu Choda Chiefs of Nellore (Timmasiddhi and Manma Siddhi) who had captured Kanchi, and carrying the war into the districts of Nellore and Cuddapah reasserted his suzerainty The Telugu Choda kings Vijayaganda Gopala (1250-1292) and Viraganda

Gopala continued to be subordinate to the authority of the Cholas and afterwards to the Pandya Jatavarman Sundara Pandya After the disintegration of the Chola kingdam the Pandyas gained for a time the upper hand in South India until 1310 when the power of all the Hindu states in South India was broken by the invasion of Malik Kafur Speaking of Jatavarman Sundarapandya who reigned from 1251 to 1271, V A. Smith says, " he made himself master of the whole eastern coast from Nellore to Cape Comorin" (p. 476) Even Malik Kafur's invasion did not destroy the local dynasties in Chola Nadu and the Sambuvarayars ruled in Tondaimandalam as independent kings with alternative capitals at Kanchipuram and Virinchipuram till about 1370, when they were overthrown by Kumara Kempana of Vijayanagar

We have narrated the history of South India at some length just to prove our contention that, from prehistoric times down to the founding of the Vijayanagar kingdom in the fourteenth century, South India south of N Pennar was continuously under Tamil rule Even Venginadu formed only the northern portion of the Pallava dominions It was the Chalukyan King Pulikesin II who annexed it and placed it under his brother who later declared himself independent and founded the Eastern Chalukyan dynasty with its capital at Rajamahendravaram In the period of Chola ascendancy, the kings of Vengi were vassals of the Chola emperors, but the Tamils do not propose to ask for the Krishna and Godavari districts on that ground But our claim to a part of Nellore based on at least 13 centuries of Tamil rule rests on much stronger grounds than the Andhra claim to Madras based on less than 3 centuries of Vijayanagar rule

Now let us take the Telugu domination in South India. South India was subjugated by Kumara Kempana about 1370 A D and till 1646 when the last king of Vijayanagar was overthrown by the Sultan of Golconda we may say that part of tne Tamil Nadu was part of the Vijayanagar Kingdom Historians are not agreed as to whether the founders of Vijayanagar were Telugus or Canarese, but at

least the later dynasties, the Saluva, the Tuluva and Aravidu dynasties were Telugu and it is on this that our Telugu friends base their claim to Madras and a part of Chengleput But the question is not what language was spoken by the kings of Vijayanagar but what language was spoken by the people who lived in this part of the country A Persian-speaking Mohamedan king ruling over Delhi could not make Hindustan a Persian land nor a Hindustani-speaking Mohamedan Nawab from Hyderabad or Arcot make South India Hindustani land By the same reasoning, a Tamil king ruling over Kalinga or Vengi could not alter the Oriya or Telugu character of those lands, and less than three centuries of Vijayanagar rule cannot convert Tamil Nadu to Andhra, Desa Even in the Vijayanagar period of South Indian History, this land was referred to as Tamil Nadu, in records and inscriptions. The Vijayanagar emperors regarded themselves not as rulers of a single country or of a homogeneous people but as kings of Tamil, Telugu and Kannada Nadus Even in the reign of Krishnadevaraya of happy memory it is recorded that for the administration of these newly acquired dominions he divided the whole country into three parts under three viceroys The first viceroyalty which extended from Nellore to Coleroon was placed under Tubaki Krishnappa Nayaka who fixed his capital at Gingee, the second comprising the Chola country was placed under Vijaya Raghunatha who had his capital at Tanjore and the third had his headquarters at Madura (Fr Heras, the 'History of the Aravidu Dynasty' Vol I, page 112) The same arrangement was continued under his successors and we read that in the reign of Sadasivaraya (and the regency of Ramaraya), in the year 1542 Ramaraya Vithala was appointed Viceroy of South India and during his viceroyalty he lived mostly in Trichinopoly In the last years of Ramaraya, sometime befor the battle of Talikota in 1565, Ramaraya appointed his brother Tirumalaraya as Governor of Vellore and of the whole surrounding country After the disastrous battle of Talikota, Tirumala the regent removed his capital from Vijayanagar to Penukonda Even under him the Empire was divided into three viceroyalties to be held by

the sons of the sovereign (Ibid p 254) Here is a very significant statement by Heras, our most reliable authority for the later Vijayanagar kings. "The division was made on *racial* basis and followed the territory of the different peoples that occupied the Empire The Telugu Viceroyalty in the North, the Kannada Viceroyalty in the west and the *Tamil* Viceroyalty in the south" Sri Ranga Raya was the Viceroy of the whole Telugu country with his capital nominally at Penukonda though actually the capital of the Telugu Viceroyalty seems to have been at Udayagiri in the heart of the Telugu Country "The Tamil country was under the third brother Venkata" (Heras p 256) "The last of the brothers Venkatapathi," says the Vasucharitra, a Telugu Classic, 'was governing as Viceroy the kingdom of Chandiagiri" Putting the two statements together we may safely infer that Chandragiri was then part of the Tamil Nadu The Chikkadevaraya-Vamsavali says that Venkatapathi, the third brother, was Viceroy of Tundira (Gingee), Chola (Tanjore) and Pandya (Madura) principalities under feudatory princes with Chandragiri as his Capital The French Historian Heras says that under Ranga I, Venkata his younger brother continued to rule over the Tamil country, his capital being Chandragiri (p 280) Sewell, the Historian of Vijayanagar, mentions 1592 as the date of Venkata's return to the Tamil Country (Sewell, I p 150). A grant of 1596 states that Kanchipuram is situated in the Chandragiri portion of the Tondaimandalam province of the country of Cholamandalam (Heras, p 307) The smallest administrative district then was Kottam (கோட்டம்) which to judge from the distance between Chandragiri and Kanchipuram was not very small The next higher and larger was the province and the highest was the so-called country The Tamil Viceroyalty probably comprised two countries, the Chola Nadu and the Pandya Nadu This mode of dividing the country for administrative purposes was made by the Chola Kings and was evidently adopted by the Vijayanagar kings A trusted minister under Krishna Devaraya was Ambi Aram Valarthan (அம்பி அறம் வளர்த்தான் முதலியார்) and it was he who

confirmed the old division of the northern portion of Tondaimandalam into 20 districts (கோட்டம்) and of each district into smaller units called Nadu (நாடு) and of each nadu into villagas (நத்தம்) It is a fortunate cirumstance that a well-known Tamil poet Padikkasu Pulavar (படிக்காசுப் புலவர்) who lived in the court of Tirumalai Naik of Madura in the 17th century has mentioned these districts by names and among them are Puzhal (புழல்), Eekkadu (ஈக்காடு), Vengatam (Tiruppathi, (திருப்பதி) and Vellore. Puzhal and Eekkadu were in that part of Chengleput district which is now demanded by the Andhras, and Madras fell within Puzhal It is interesting to note that Puzhaleri (புழலேரி) the Red Hills Tank which supplies water to Madras takes its name from this District In Puzhal District (புழல்கோட்டம்), there were five Nadus corresponding to our modern taluqs of which one was Egmore (எழும்பூர்) Perambur, Vyasarpady and Purasawalkam were villages in the Egmore Taluq and Ayanapuram, Teynampet, Mylapore, Nungambakkam and Amainthakarai (Aminjikarai) were in the Nadu, i e taluq of Porur. So all the villages which went to form the town of Madras were Tamil villages, bearing Tamil names, in the Puzhal district of Tondaimandalam which was a part of TAMIL VICEROYALTY Because part of a Tamil village was granted to the English by a Telugu-speaking chief of a Tamil District, the whole city of Madras does not become Telugu either in its historical associations or in its present character and composition To sum up, it cannot be repeated too often that the invasions and conquests of Indian kings were mostly for personal aggrandisement and not attempts by one people to subjugate or enslave another people, though popular sympathies have been enlisted in a few cases, but had their origin in the personal or dynastic ambitions of kings, that Tamil kings like the Cholas fought with other Tamil kings like Pandyas, that the conquests of Vijayanagar embraced Tamil, Telugu and Canarese parts of South India and the kings never felt that they were Telugus imposing Telugu rule over non-Telugu people There was nothing like an eternal title passed on to the Andhras for possession of all

the lands included at one time or another, as within that kingdom. If the claim to Madras should be based on a supposed right of reversion to the last owner, then Madras should be handed back to the descendants of the Nawabs of Arcot, and the Circars and the Ceded-Districts to the Nizam If the fantastic claims of the Nizam are opposed on the very sound principle the sovereignty rests with the people and they cannot be transferred from one rule to another like property, how can the wishes of the people of Madras be ignored in settling this question? The verdict of the majority can only be one.

There is a ring of pride in Mr. Venkateswarlu's tone when he says, "It was a Telugu chief who made the original grant and it was a Telugu king who ratified it". The gift of Madras to the East India Company is not a transaction over which Indian patriots need feel any particular pride Apart from that, we have shown how the original grant comprised only a part of modern George Town, and even this grant had to be confirmed by the Mohamadan kings. In regard to the development of Madaras, Mr. Venkateswarlu after much painstaking research compiled a history of the Telugu gentlemen who assisted the East India Company to build up its trade, with their Dubashes, Brokers, Pandits and Interpreters like Beri Timmanna, Beri Timmappa, Pedda Venkatadri, Chinna Venkatadri and others We dare say they were all able and estimable gentlemen in their own way and peace be on their souls But it would be the grossest exaggeration to say that these brokers and dubashes and their kin and the various clerks were mainly responsible for the growth in population and prosperity of Madras If we cared, we could compile an equally long, perhaps a longer list of Tamil worthies, Beri Chettiars, Mudaliars and Pillais who served the East India Company with distinction, but we do not build up our claim to Madras on such flimsy grounds, for our case rests on the sound basis of past and present population and past historical associations Mr Venkateswarlu recalls with pride that in the 18th century also the Andhras were equally prominent in the life of Madras and cites the cases

of Timmappa and Angarappa who were Pedda Naicks, that is, chiefs of the Police and Watchmen Ramappa was the chief Dubash of the Compan y for a time, and Ankanna its chief broker for a time, a record of achievements of which Mr Venkateswarlu seems to be inordinately proud This is a fair summary of the Andhra contribution to the development of Madras, a contribution which in Mr Venkateswarlu's estimation far outweighs the contributions of the Tamils to the development of their own city and makes Madras a Telugu city

We have said enough to convince the disinterested public that the Andhra claim to Madras, whether judged by the principle of population or by historic affiliation, is not onli untenable but also fantastic

But what about the Telugus in Madras, it may be asked. They have lived for centries in the midst of Tamils without suffering either it their material interests or in their social relations, unlike Andhradesa in which the Tamilian is made to feel that he is an unwelcome alien. Tamil Nadu from ancient times has kept its doors hospitably open to migrants from Andhradesa and has given them equal opportunities with her own sons The Reddies, the Nayudus, and the Komatis in Tamil Nadu form some of the richest and most influential communities in the country. In all the Telugu districts there are only 337,320 Tamils as against 14,776,859 Telugus and if we leave out the Tamils in the Chittore District, which is really a part of Tamil-Nadu, the number of Tamils in Andhradesa will be negligible And against this handful the Andhras have been making a hue and cry raising up the bogey of a Tamil invasion of Andhra country As against this, the number of Telugu-speaking people in Tamil Nadu is 2,943, 597, nearly a sixth of the total population Even with regard to these 30 lakhs of people, the Andhra P C C. itself has admitted that they are well domiciled in Tamil Nadu Have these millions ever made any complaint against Tamils of linguistic prejudice or racial discrimination ? So while the small

population of Tamils scattered in Andhra Desa have real cause for apprehension and alarm, the Andhras of Madras need have no anxiety about their future in Tamil Madras

The Andhra Case for Chingleput We have refuted the Andhra case for Madras at length, as the Andhra claim for the northern portion of the Chingleput District is only consequential to their demand for Madras With the failure of their case for Madras, they may not even press their demand for this portion of Chengleput They do not have any justification for asking for this area which traditionally and historically belongs to Tamil Nadu and is peopled mostly by Tamils Mr Ramadas Pantulu is conscious of the weakness of his case Referring to the tract in Ponneri and Tiruvellur taluqs which he wants to be added to the Andhra Province, an area of roughly 1000 sq miles, (bounded on the west by the eastern border of the Chittoor District on the north by the southern border of the Nellore District, and on the south by the Madras-Arkonam railway line), he says he has no precise data to determine the linguistic composition of the population of the area, but admits that his general impression is that the Tamil population preponderates over the Telugu population But he says there are contiguous villages—he does not say how many—in the Trivellore taluq which preponderate in Telugu population But this fact can never justify the Andhra demand, for these villages are not contiguous to the admitted Telugu country, and they cannot be added to the Andhra Province unless for their sake we sacrifice a much larger number of Tamil villages Mr Ramadas Pantulu says, "the population of this area speak Tamil as well as Telugu and they have many affinities in their social habits and customs" An excellent reason why they should remain where they naturally belong, namely Tamil Nadu In fact, if a plebiscite is taken among the Telugus settled in Tamil Nadu, we are confident that a majority of them would vote against the unreasonable demands of the Telugus of Andhra Desa. Mr. Ramadas says, "some adjustments are inevitable in partitioning the province of Madras into linguistic

components and this bit may legitimately be added to the Andhra province, because it is a tract with peculiar characteristics and which will go more appropriately into the Andhra province, especially if the claim to locate the Capital of the Andhra Province also in Madras prevails " For utter inconsequence and unreason this sentence is hard to beat In partitioning our province into linguistic divisions some slight accommodation may be necessary, but the Andhra conception of the accommodation is that the Tamils should always give everywhere and the Andhras take The Tamilian claim to the southern portion of Chittoor though supported by very strong historical reasons, Mr. Ramadas brushes aside with contempt, as a demand that is utterly untenable But he would like the Tamils to hand to over to the Andhras 1000 square miles of Tamil country peopled by lakhs of Tamils The Andhras must have all the land to which they have a just claim, and in addition some areas like Chittoor and Tirupathi to which their claim is doubtful and some more like Madras and Chingleput to which they have absolutely no claim, merely to round off the Andhra Province and provide it with a ready-made Capital "This little bit"- a 1000 sq miles is a little bit to Mr Ramdas - " may legitimately be added to the Andhra Province" Mr Ramadas has very curious notions of legitimacy, for these can be nothing more illegitimate than adding to the Andhra province an area which from time immemorial has been a part of Tamil Nadu and whose population is preponderantly Tamil. "It is a tract with peculiar characteristics and which will go more appropriately into the Andhra province," says Mr. Ramadas, but he does not explain what those peculiar characteristics are they must be very peculiar indeed to make a Tamil area go more appropriately into the Telugu Province than to its own natural place in the Tamil province To such shifts and devices are men reduced when they have to plead an unjust cause " Especially it the claim to locate the Capital of the Andhra province also in Madras prevails " A neat example of circular reasoning—they cannot ask for Madras unless we are willing to cede to them all the country between Madras and Telugu Nadu

and they cannot ask for this area unless we are willing to cede Madras

The truth is they must first establish their claim to this intervening strip of territory before they can ask for Madras, for the cession of Madras will automatically carry with it the surrender of this area For various reasons the Andhras would like to have their capital at Madras but Madras is not contiguous to the Telugu country. So to make it contiguous they ask for all the intervening territory It is like robbing a man of his house and then asking him for his garden to make the house more comfortable. As if to clinch his argument Mr Ramadas says that "this tract was historically a Telugu country ruled by Telugu kings and viceroys" We have shown from irrefutable evidence that this part of the country was never a part of the Telugu country, but that on the contrary it has always been considered as an integral part of the Tamil country In fact there was nothing like a traditional or historical Telugu country with well-developed limits, a land sung by Telugu poets as definitely and characteristically theirs, in the sense in which we speak of Tamilakam

If at all any country can be called the traditional land of the Telugus it is Telingana, the land marked by the three lingas of Draksharama in the north, Sreesaila in the west and Kalahasti in the south But even this would be an encroachment upon the historic Tamil land for later tradition fixed the northern boundary of Tamil land at North Pennar, whereas there is absolutely no evidenee to show that the Telugu country ever extended south of Kalahasti If Mr. Ramadas means by Telugu country the country with preponderant Telugu population, it is opposed to all the facts to say that this area was ever part of the Telugu country If he means by Telugu country a country traditionally accepted as the homeland of the Telugus, then also this area was never considered as part of Telugu country. Mr. Ramadas may forget or conceal these patent facts of history, but history cannot be silenced, and it proclaims in no uncertain voice that Chingleput ever was part of the Tamil Nadu, and it shall ever remain so

As for its being under the rule of the Telugu kings and viceroys, that is absolutely irrelevant to the point at issue. As we have clearly shown in the previous pages, the question is not which dynasty ruled over the country but what was the race of people that lived in the country Even on this point, we urge that less than three centuries of domination by Telugu-speaking kings cannot outweigh the two thousand years of Tamil rule

Now that the Andhras have linked the question of Trivellore and Ponneri to that of Madras, it becomes doubly our duty to resist their claim to Madras, for on the fate of North Madras depends the future of a thousand square miles of Tamil Nadu and of lakhs of Tamils If in a moment of weakness or generosity we yield on the question of North Madras, then we shall be handing over to the Andhras a fair slice of the Tamil country without the consent of the people inhabiting it

The Tamil Claim to the southern portion of Nellore and Chittoor Districts.

At the outset we must say that if the boundaries are delimited strictly on language basis we admit we cannot ask for these areas For whatever their past historical affinities and associations, they are now preponderantly Telugu in population Unlike the Andhra leaders who have one logic for themselves and another for others, who shift their standards to suit self-interest, appealing now to past history and now to the linguistic composition of the present population, we will abide by one rule, one test, one standard, and the standard that commands itself to reason, the standard that is laid down by the Indian National Congress—that of population But if historical grounds also are taken into account, we are not afraid, for historically we are on much stronger ground than the Andhras. If impartial History is to arbitrate between us, we await its verdict with confidence

But speaking of the Tamil claim for the southern portion of the Nellore District and the portion of Chittoor

District up to the Tirupathi Hills, Mr Ramadas Pantulu says, " this claim is so patently untenable as not to require any argument to controvert it. The real test is that of the population speaking the Telugu language and if the census figures of 1931 are accepted as accurate, there is no case for any claim by the Tamils for any part of these two districts". Apply then the same test to Madras and Chingleput and where are you? The history which they invoked in vain in support of their claim to Madias we shall now invoke withstronger evidence to support our case for Nelloie and Chittore.

Nellore

We have already shown how from prehistoric times down to the end of the thirteenth century, Nellore District, at least south of the Pennar, was pait of the Tamil kingdoms of the Chola, Pallava and Pandya dynasties The very names, Nellore and Pennar, are Tamil words which indicate the long association of the district with the Tamils Tradition says that the jungle which once covered the land was cleared by the Tamils who brought it under cultivation. If Sii Radhakrishnan can claim Madras for the Andhra on the score of its Andhra affiliation, we can similarly claim Nellore, for even to the present day it has had important Tamil affiliations The contributions of the Tamils settled in Nellore to the cultural development of the distiict have not been negligible and we may cite in support of our statement the contributions of the late Vedam Venkatroya Sastriyar, of Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, Piof. M Venkatarangiah and our own friend Mi Vavilla Venkateswarlu and his father, the late ievered V Ranaswamy Sastrulu.

Chittoor

Our case for Chittoor rests on very strong histoiical and cultural offiliations As we have shown eailier, the traditional limits of Tamilakam always extended up to Vada Venkatam or Tirupathi. In the Tolkappiam (தொல-

காப்பியம்) the earliest grammar of Tamil, a work assigned to the middle Sangam age which cannot be later than the 1st century A. D, the northern boundary of Tamil Nadu is stated to be Vada Venkatam and the southern Cape Comorin Ilango Adigal (இளங்கோ அடிகள்) the author of that Tamil classic Silappadikaram (சிலப்பதிகாரம்) second century A. D gives the same account. Sikhandi Munivar (சிகண்டி முனிவர்), Bhavanandi, the author of the standard Tamil grammar Nannul (நன்னூல்), Kamba, the greatest poet of Tamil literature and Sekkilar (சேக்கிழார்) all define Tamil Nadu in the same terms, "from Venkatam (Tirupathi) in the north to Cape Comorin in the south". Kamba gives the specific boundaries of Thondaimandalam (தொண்டைமண்டலம்) thus—'the Pavazha hills in the west, Vengatam in the north, the sea in the east and the Pennar in the south' As recently as 300 years ago, Padikkasu Pulavar (படிக்காசுப்புலவர்) a poet who lived in the court of the Andhra prince Tirumala Naik of Madura named the districts comprising Tondaimandalam and included Venkatam in the list So we have an unbroken living tradition, extending from prehistoric times down to the modern period that Tirupathi marks the northern frontier of Tamil Nadu Against this overwhelming mass of tradition preserved in Tamil literature what evidence can the Andhras produce to show that Tirupathi has been regarded as part of their country We challenge them to produce an equal volume of authentic references from early Telugu literature in support of their case In fact, all the literary evidence goes to show that the Telugus regarded as their traditional home either the land lying between the Godavari and Krishna rivers or Telingana, the land lying between the three lingas. The very name Andhra is derived by lexicographers from "Antara" meaning "between", the land lying between the rivers Godavari and Krishna Their other name, Telugu, seems to be etymologically connected with "Telingana". It is significant that Mr Venateswarlu should call his Telugu Journal Telingana So if at all the Andhras can call any land historically their own it is this Telingana

Now coming to history, we have shown in an earlier section how right up to the time of the Vijayanagar Kings Chittoor District was a part of either the Chola kingdom or the Pallava kingdom. It was from a Tamil King, one Sambavaraya, that prince Kumara Kempana of Vijayanagar conquered it about the year 1377 Even under the Vijayanager kings it was considered a part of the Tamil country A record of Krishnadevaraya's reign referring to an expedition sent by him to reduce the petty chiefs round about Gingee who had rebelled says, "that the chief of Chittore and other petty rulers of the Tondaimandalam country had an interview with the general Vaiyappa Naik" We have already shown how all this land was constituted into a separate Viceroyalty called the Tamil Viceroyalty with its capital at Chandragiri This conclusively proves that even under the Telugu kings of Vijayanagar Chandragiri was considered to be within the Tamil country Several of the inscriptions relating to the Vijayanagar kings speak of Chandragiri as in Tiruvengada Kottam (District) in Vaikuntavala Nadu, a part of Tondaimandalam.

Now coming specifically to Tirupathi, the town owes all its importance to the shrine of Sri Venkateswara on the hill As a place of pilgrimage it has been famous at least from the beginning of the Christian era-for there is a reference to it in Silappadikaram, a work of the second century A D. The earlier Alwars, Peyalwar and Poygai Alwar, have sung the praises of the presiding deity, who at the time was concieved as Siva and Visnu in one In the eleventh century the great Vaishnava teacher and reformer Sri Ramanuja settled a dispute about the form of the Godhead worshipped in the temple All these centuries, it was one of the important centres of Vishnavaism, a characteristically Tamil cult born in Tamil Nadu, revealed and propagated by Tamil Alwars and Acharyas with an essential part of its sacred literature in Tamil The very name Tirupathi is a Tamil word meaning a sacred place and now limited in application to this holiest of holy places The present temple at Tirupathi was built by a Yadava prince in 1048 but it only took the place of an older temple which had come from prehistoric

times. This was built by the Tamils and liberally endowed by the Tamil kings The connection of the Andhras with Tirupathi became close only after the conversion of the Vijayanagar kings to the Vaishnava faith and it became closer still after the removal of their capital from Penukonda to Chandragiri, especially under Venkata II Compared with the references to Tirupathi and Lord Venkateswara in the Tamil Vaishnava literature, the references to them in Telugu literature are comparativey later and fewer The connection between Tirupathi and the Tamil language and the Tamil people has been so close and intimate so much so that Pillai Perumal Iyengar, a Rayasam under Tirumala Naik, in his hymn to Venkateswara, calls Tirupathi the place which fostered the Tamil of the Alwars ‘ஆழ்வார செந்தமிழை ஆதரித்த வேங்கடம்’’ To show that till recent times it was considered essentially Tamil we may mention that most of the inscriptions in the Temples of Tirupathi and Chandragiri are in Tamil. The language of the inscripitions is always an index to the language spoken by the people of the locality, for an inscription is meant to be read by the people on the spot and not by the distant king or his officers. Even where the donor is a non-Tamilian, the inscription recording his gift is in Tamil, evidently because most of the people in the neighbourhood knew only Tamil Now all the four inscriptions found in Chandragiri are in Tamil All the five inscriptions in the Trichanur temple are in Tamil and refer to gifts by Chola kings. Of the 38 inscriptions in the Tirupathi temple, two are in Canarese, four in Tamil and Grantha script, one in Grantha, four in Telugu and the remaining twenty-five in Tamil. Take again Kalahasti, a place which owes its sanctity to the Tamil saint Kannappar. In Kalahasti there are 80 inscriptions of which one is in the Nagari script, nine in Tamil and Grantha script combined, one in Telugu and sixty-nine in Tamil The same is true of Tiruttani In the Kalahasti Taluq there are two other places of pilgrimage, the villages of Kudipalam and Tondaimanadu The very names show their Tamil origin The poet Padikkasu Pulavar definitely mentions Kalahasti as one of the sacred places in Tondaimandalam In the temple

of Kodanda Ramaswami in Tondamanadu there are inscriptions recording gifts by the Chola king Parakesari Varma There is only one stone inscription in Kudipalam and that is in Tamil Not only in these sacred places but even in ordinary villages in these Taluqs are found inscriptions in Tamil For example, in the village of Puthalapattu in Chittoor Taluq there is an inscription of the year 1438 stating that the village was in Pazhuvur (பழுவூர்) Kottam of Thondaimandalam We have furnished enough evidence from literary tradition and historical data to prove that the southern portion of the Chittoor district up to Tirupathi has always been considered a part of Tamil Nadu. Even under the British this area was part of the North Arcot District till **1911** when for reasons of administrative convenience Chittoor and Tirupathi were separated from North Arcot and with the Madanapalli division detatched from Cuddapah formed into a separate district So if historical associations and cultural affinities are to be the determining factor, then the Tamils are on very strong ground in asking for Tirupathi and all the intervening country The temple is the very life of Tirupathi and the temple is essentially Tamil—the Archakas are Tamil and the forms of worship are those that prevail in Tamil Nadu All that the Telugus can plead is that the present population of the area is predominantly Telugu, but then in demanding North Madras and a part of Chengleput they definitely give up the principle of population and take their stand on history and history furnishes irrefutable arguments for our claim to Chittoor and Tirupathi

In a recent contribution to *Swatantra* a learned Andhra professor, Dr. N Venkataramanaiya has attempted an indirect reply to the Tamil claim that Tirupathi is the northern limit of historical and traditional Tamil land Apart from the fact that his references to ancient Tamil literature are not exhaustive his elaborate display of learning is beside the point for our case. The question is not how far back in Tamil literature do we find clear and categorical references to Tirupati as part of Tamil land. The claim may go back to first century or tenth century,

but is there a counter-claim in Telugu tradition or literature which is of equal weight? From Mr. Venkataramanaiya's silence we can only infer that there is no clear and continued reference in Telugu literature to Tirupathi as part of Telugu Desa. For at least nine centuries the Tamils have without demur or challenge regarded Tirupathi "Vadavengadam" as the northern limit of Tamil Nadu. If history and tradition are the determining factors, then the Tamils, as already pointed out, have a stronger case for parts of Cittoore and Nellore than the Andhras for Madras

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Printed at The Liberty Press, Madras—1